1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

they are obviously involved in it. But men lie as a matter of habit and principle to deny other people information. And it is one way of expressing their mutual hostility. A head of family who was sincere (ειλικρινής), or without cunning words (ντόμπρος), would be considered foolish and neglectful of his duty.

This is not to say that the Sarakatsani fail to understand the virtues of truth and sincerity; indeed, relations between kinsmen, or between man and God, are based upon them. But between unrelated men the narrow limits of the human condition, particularly envy and poverty, prescribe opposite and meaner values. The essentially 'fallen' character of these relationships is implicit in linguistic usage. Κακός,[4] bad or evil, is sometimes used to indicate a skilful man, especially in operations where cleverness or cunning is required. Πονηρός, which means cunning in the sense of the worker-out of evil, is very frequently used to describe a man like Lambros whose cleverness has to be grudgingly admitted and admired by other men. And, on the other hand, καλός, good, in contexts of character description often refers to a man who is merely weak and irresolute.

But the truly clever man does not give the impression that he is a threat to other men. Except where the interests of his family are critically at stake, he is careful to appear as honourable and well-intentioned towards unrelated men. There are, however, men who practise a small kind of cunning in all their actions. These persons are described as cunning in a sense that is wholly bad. Μάγκας, which means a cunning untrustworthy person, a bearer of mean and untrue scandals, is a word often applied to this kind of man. In the Sarakatsan imagination such a man is small, bent, thin featured, and with narrow close set eyes. The cunning of these men is not the intelligent cleverness of a Lambros, rather it resembles the sexual cunning of women. Both corrupt. The latter corrupts the nobility of men, the former society in general. Cleverness and cunning are legitimate and praiseworthy where their object is the protection or advancement of family interests, but not beyond these limits, or for their own sake.

The heads of families whenever they are free from shepherding

[4] Cf. Höeg, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 168.

knees, others leaned back against the wall or the divan with a knee cocked up to support an outstretched arm, their fingers allowing the amber beads of a *komboloi* to fall at intervals of a few seconds. All were luxuriously asprawl and akimbo, and the company bristled with shepherd's crooks. They were laid across their laps or tilted at a slope over their shoulders. Some of the shepherds' crooks, staffs grasped by gnarled fists, stood bolt upright; others were propped against the wall; the top of each well-worn shaft was joined to a twirling hook carved in the shape of a dolphin, a dragon, a ram's head, or a snake.

Only a couple of the guests were dressed in black kilts. The others wore rough and hairy black jodhpurs. A few of the wildest and shaggiest were shod in rawhide moccasins tilting up like canoes, worn over swaths of white wool bound about their ankles with broad thongs. All of them wore their soft black skullcaps rakishly askew. Except for the white and pleated bridegroom, who stood by the door receiving horny handshakes and whiskery embraces from the guests, nearly all the people in the room were middle-aged or stricken in years. They conversed at the top of their voices; used to shouting against the wind to each other from hilltop to hilltop, they find it hard to modulate their voices at close quarters, so the smallest talk is stentorian, and the only alternative is a collusive and almost inaudible whisper, to which they suddenly resort if they notice a look of suffering on their interlocutor's face.

THEIR thick rural tones sounded different from those of Thrace. They resembled, rather, the dialect of Roumeli and of parts of Epirus, much further west; an accent which consists of suppressing all final vowels and most of those in the middle of words as well, giving their speech an oddly chopped and consonantal ring. It was made harder to follow by a private vocabulary for the details of their calling. Different kinds of springs, qualities of grass, ways of hut building and bell tuning, breeds of sheep and goats and horses and watchdogs all have special names. They have their own expressions for the tupping, lambing, weaning, shearing, carding, spinning, milking, seething, scalding, path finding, tent pitching, camp striking, trough scooping, and weather divining around which their whole life turns. How should a layman know that the reddish- or dark-faced sheep are called *Katsoúla*, or that belling them is called "ironing" or "arming" them? Or how many *okas* of bronze, and of what pitch, should be slung around the neck of a bellwether? Or that the best time to arm the flocks

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233 is at the Feast of the Annunciation, "when the first cuckoo is heard"? Such were the topics that boomed about the room.

233 Barba Petro pointed out the celebrities: "Uncle
221 George over there, with only one eye — he's one
103 of the biggest *tsellingas* in the Rhodope. Over ten
[494] thousand sheep and goats he's got, and I expect this is the first time he's been inside a house. The one talking to him is ninety-three, and he used to pasture his flocks near Saranta Ekklesies, or Forty Churches — Kirk Kilisse, the Turks call it —
[648] away, away beyond Adrianople. Then, after the Balkan Wars, the Turks closed the frontier, so now he builds his winter huts along the coast, west of here, below Xanthi. The other one, with a scar on his forehead, used to winter between Haskovo and Stara Zagora — wonderful grass! — but now, what with the Bulgars, the horn wearers, he's had to look elsewhere. I had a few, but good ones. I used to graze them not far from Kios, in Bithynia, near Nicaea, on the Asian coast. That was years ago. Caïques sailing past in the Sea of Marmara could hear my bells. But the Rhodope is where we all belong."

101 I asked him what the name "Sarakatsán" meant, saying that I had heard it was really *Karakatchani*, a Turkish word meaning "the black ones who depart" or "the black departers." He shut his eyes and flung back his head, clicking his tongue in the negative. "No, no. That's not right.
[173] We don't know, but some people say we get our name from the village of Syrako, in Epirus, and that Aly Pasha burned the place down and drove us away and left us wandering ever since." I said
101 Syrako was a Koutzovlach village. Uncle Petro
186 testily stabbed the butt of his crook into the mat several times. "I don't know anything about that. *We are Greeks*. Nothing to do with the Koutzovlachs. Who knows where they come from? You can't understand them when they are talking among themselves. People are always getting us mixed up, because we both wear black and graze
[582] flocks. We keep clear of them. You'll never get a Sarakatsán marrying a Koutzovlach. Let alone a Karagouni. *Po, po, po!*" At the mention of these other tribes, he caught the hem of his jacket between finger and thumb in a Panhellenic gesture of squeamish disdain, and shook it lightly to and fro as though to rid it of dust and vermin.

585 The reiterated song of welcome, after gradually
262 swelling in volume as the room filled with guests,
[252] had stopped long ago. Low circular tables, laid
[263] with glasses and with communal dishes of roasted steaming lamb, skillfully hacked from the carcasses turning outside and sprinkled with rock salt, were

/395 cont./

171 233 a region near the Greek borders, only the "Mijaci" practiced it, even recently, although the rest of their quite nomadic herding was practiced more to the north (Bosnia, Herzogovina, Tétovo, etc.). According to K. Karavidas, a sociologist and specialist in rural economy, "this system existed in the Balkans well before the arrival of the Slavs. The latter, once in the Byzantine countries, were integrated as farmers and sharecroppers and not as herders"--a statement corroborated by Ostrogrosky. And he adds: "Even today, those who still carry on nomadic herding are descended from the first inhabitants of the country before the Slavs, the Albanians, the Greeks and the Aroumain." (9)

9. Cf. ΚΑΡΑΒΙΔΑ : Ἀγροτικά, p. 48-49.

Of course, all these ethnic groups of pastoral nomads have patriarchal extended families, in terms of which their lives are organized.

192 233 191 There remains another point to be clarified. The words "Tséligas" and "Tséligato" are undoubtedly of Slavic origin. One could therefore ask the following question: since the name of the system is Slavic, could one not assume that the system as such is also Slavic? The solution of this problem resides in the fact that this term is common all over Greece to designate the big herder and herding on a large scale, sedentary or otherwise. It has been adopted not only by the Sarakatsani, but by all groups of herders. This word therefore does not belong exclusively to the Sarakatsaniway of life, but to an economically defined activity. And /396/ if we make use of it to characterize the Sarakatsani system it is because the Sarakatsani themselves use it in this sense, but in addition give it a special meaning. It is therefore very probable that this Slavic word was the object of linguistic borrowing, which has no particular bearing on the problem in question.

171 181 Having said that, we believe that our characterization of the